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THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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SECONDARY MODERN EXAMINATIONS AND SOCIAL MOBILITY IN ENGLAND

William Taylor

Since 1944, some seventy per cent of all the adolescents who attend state-maintained schools in England have received their education in a Secondary Modern school. These schools were established as the third element in the tripartite structure of secondary education—Grammar, Technical and Modern—and developed out of the old elementary and ‘all-age’ schools and the non-selective Senior and Central schools that were provided for older children during the period between the two world wars. It was intended in 1944 that the three different types of secondary school should have ‘parity of esteem’, and official opinion encouraged the view that this would be achieved, on the one hand, by equating the quality of the staff, buildings and equipment, and, on the other, through the stress on cooperation rather than competition that would characterize post-war society, and the playing down of examination work and paper qualifications in favour of a liberal, cultural and non-vocational general education. In practice, however, things have not worked out as expected. In the first place, there are still certain important differences between the various types of secondary school in respect of levels of equipment, the qualifications and rewards of staff and so on. Secondly, social engineering has failed to diminish competition and the significance of status differences in English life, and examinations are of greater importance than before. In such a situation, and where, as was recently pointed out in this Journal, “the present selection system results in “segregated” schools, the secondary modern schools being almost entirely working class and the grammar schools being largely middle class,”¹ it is inevitable that the modern school is regarded as third best in the secondary system, and the grammar, and to a lesser extent technical schools possess the social and educational prestige.

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The modern school was exhorted to achieve 'parity of esteem' on its own terms, and not to copy the grammar or technical school. The occupational implications of eleven-plus selection for different types of secondary education being what they are, however, it was clearly not within the power of administrators and teachers to create a distinctive new form of secondary education, of equal status to that provided by the grammar schools. A recognition of this fact has led many modern schools to try to obtain prestige by means of vocational and examination courses which rival those offered by technical and grammar schools. The principal mark of a successful grammar school education is the possession of the 'General Certificate of Education' in a substantial number of subjects, including English and Mathematics and a foreign language. This certificate was instituted on a national basis in 1952, and can be taken at three levels—'Ordinary,' 'Advanced' and 'Scholarship.' Most grammar school pupils take ordinary level at the age of sixteen, and those who remain at school after this age usually take Advanced and Scholarship level at eighteen, most frequently with a view to obtaining entrance to the University. A certificate can be obtained in as little as one subject—it is what is on the certificate rather than the possession of it as such that is important—but for many purposes, such as entry to a Teachers' training college, passes in at least five subjects at 'O' level are required. During recent years there has been a considerable increase in the number of employers and professional bodies requiring G.C.E. qualifications from applicants for employment or entry, and it is beginning to play an important part in acceptance for apprenticeship training for certain skilled manual work. When the G.C.E. was instituted, it was stated that it was intended for those going on to the university, or to other forms of continued education, and not as a school-leaving certificate; the education of the majority of adolescents, even those in grammar schools, should not be cramped and confined within examination syllabuses. These intentions have not been borne out in practice, however, and the possession of 'a GCE' has become the hallmark of a successful secondary education. As a result, many modern schools, from which examinations were virtually excluded during the early post-war years, have begun to prepare pupils for the General Certificate. In 1959, 970 modern schools, about a quarter of the total, entered 15,480 candidates, about half of all those children who had remained at modern schools after the statutory minimum leaving age of fifteen. The average number of subjects entered was 3.9, the average number of passes secured 1.9. This represents a

considerably smaller measure of success than that obtained by grammar school pupils, and, unless candidates go on to add to the number of their passes by part-time study, many of the certificates obtained must be of little value outside school.

Examination work, however, has several other practical advantages in the day by day work of the schools. Since the proportion of grammar school places varies widely from one part of the country to another, many modern schools have found themselves with pupils who, had they lived elsewhere, would have been selected for the grammar or technical school. It would clearly be wrong to deprive these children of a chance of occupational and social advancement by means of examination success, and, furthermore, they are not likely to produce their best work in an atmosphere of frustration and where there is nothing towards which they can direct their energies. Parents take a greater interest in the work of their children when some form of tangible success is at stake, and, particularly in areas of higher socio-economic status, there has sometimes been a good deal of pressure from parents on the schools to provide examination courses. The matter is very frequently one for the headteacher to decide, and in some places, particularly in densely populated urban areas where several modern schools can be found within a few miles radius, there is a danger in a school feeling itself to be 'odd man out', and, if one headteacher introduces examination work, others may follow suit. Furthermore, local employers may look for some concrete indication of a boy or girl's level of attainment, and a 'Report' which is specific to a particular school may not be regarded as adequate for this purpose. Teachers often welcome the opportunity to prepare their pupils for examinations, partly because of the prospect of some tangible measure of their teaching skill, and partly because it involves a type of approach with which they are familiar from their own school, college and university days.

For all these reasons, social, occupational and motivational, the secondary modern school is tending to become more and more involved with examination work of various kinds. If the work leading to the G.C.E. can provide a spur to endeavour for the most able pupils in such schools, it follows that some 'lower-level' examination can similarly motivate the next level of ability. Hence many modern schools are entering pupils for examinations organised by national examining bodies such as the College of Preceptors and the Royal Society of Arts. These are usually of a lower level of difficulty than the G.C.E., and have less national standing. Some are taken by

modern school pupils at the end of their fourth year in the school, and do not require an extended course going beyond the statutory leaving age. In addition to these national examinations, a large number of modern schools are now associated with local and regional examining schemes, the syllabuses and papers being drawn up by the teachers themselves and a leaving certificate of common currency in the area concerned being issued.

As suggested earlier, this spread of examination work is in direct contradiction to the hopes expressed after the passing of the 1944 Education Act regarding the development of secondary, and, in particular, secondary modern, education. Insofar as the growing popularity of such examination work has had a favourable effect on the relative status of the modern school, and has opened a wider range of opportunity to children from all social levels, it can be welcomed. There are, however certain very real educational disadvantages of becoming too examination conscious, such as the narrowing effect on the syllabus and work of the school, the remoteness from the individual pupil and class room of any large scale external examination, and the tendency towards an academic and abstract approach to experience that examination work implies. To these familiar criticisms must be added the increased possibilities for educational and social failure that the participation of larger and larger numbers of pupils in examination work presupposes. But the increasing tendency to rely upon examination results and objective criteria of competency, even at comparatively humble occupational levels, has other more serious, if rather less tangible, social implications.

We have become accustomed to the concept of a society in which social position and reward are no longer determined by accidents of birth, but in which considerations of ability and merit are regarded as of cardinal importance. This is not to claim that we have yet reached a position where 'ability and aptitude' alone determine occupational and social advance, but this is at least the ideal towards which much of the work of our educational system is directed. But if life-chances are no longer determined by birth, it would surely be wrong to determine them with equal finality at the age of eleven or sixteen, and it is in this direction that the growing importance of educational and occupational selection by examination is leading. A healthy democratic society requires possibilities for occupational and social movement to take place at several points in the life-span of an individual—the emergency training schemes in various skilled trades, teaching and so on, that were instituted in England after the second World War

enabled many men and women to enter occupations that would otherwise have been closed to them. It might be objected that in this the community was merely giving a second chance to those who had suffered from the pre-war lack of educational opportunity. This is, of course, to some extent true, but despite the greater accuracy of eleven-plus selection, the abolition of fee-paying in state schools, and the wide range of educational opportunity that exists today, it seems doubtful if *all* the reserves of talent have been exploited and that *all* those who might profit from higher education or have the ability to perform skilled work at some time in their lives are now selected during their youth. An official enquiry regarding the educational needs of adolescents found that, of a very large sample of young men entering the army for compulsory national service who were divided into six levels of ability on the basis of objective tests, nine percent of the top level, and sixty-five per cent of the second level, had left school at the minimum statutory leaving age of fifteen.² In these circumstances, any move that would increase the rigidities that at present render movements between types of job and levels of skill and status more difficult should surely be resisted. The tripartite division of schools, insofar as it determines an individual's subsequent occupational opportunities, can be looked upon as one of these rigidities. The importance of the tripartite system is now being blurred by the entry of the modern school into the field of examination work and the growth of opportunities in further education, which serve to reduce the significance of the eleven-plus examination. At the same time, however, the methods employed to blur the distinction between different types of school may themselves by encouraging too great a dependence upon examination results and other 'objective' tests of suitability for various levels of employment, create new rigidities which are as unwelcome as the old. In this context, the role of apprenticeship, insofar as it closes the entrance to many skilled trades to anyone older than sixteen, needs also to be considered. If the results of an examination taken at the secondary modern school are to play a part in determining an adult's opportunity to move between various levels of skill, then the efforts of the modern school, valuable as they may have been in terms of the improvement of its own status, have done little to encourage that healthy mobility and flexibility referred to earlier. In other words, seeking to overcome the disadvantages of a competitive and selective educational system, the examination work of the modern school further emphasizes the social disadvantages of such a system.

Whether the introduction of inclusive comprehensive secondary schools would resolve these difficulties is a matter of doubt. The demand for qualifications is a characteristic of our present stage of economic and social development, and is outside the range of purely educational reform. On the other hand, unselective schools would at least avoid the proliferation of examinations that results from the attempt of different types of secondary school to enhance their status relative to one another, and each school, through the wide range of courses that it could offer, could probably furnish more effective and worthwhile motivations than those provided by external examinations. Furthermore, an inclusive secondary school would at least provide the basis for the greater measure of understanding and social tolerance that is required if the less desirable status stereotypes of our educational system are to be eradicated.

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THE TEACHER'S FUNCTION: SOME OBSERVATIONS ON AN ASPECT OF THE TEACHER'S JOB IN SCOTLAND

Hewan Craig

I. INTRODUCTORY

This paper deals with differences between teachers in different types of secondary schools in Scotland in regard to the views they hold on their principal functions as teachers. The main body of the paper is prefaced by a short account of the Scottish public educational system, in order to make clear the position in that system of the two types of secondary school in which the teachers who took part in the enquiries described below were employed.

Public education in Scotland is divided into two main stages, primary, for children aged 5 to 12, and secondary, for those aged 12 to 17 or 18. Between the ages of 5 and 15 education is compulsory for all children able to profit by it and in the great majority of schools within the public school system education is free at both primary and secondary levels. There are two types of secondary school—junior secondary schools, providing three-year courses for pupils who will leave school at 15, and senior secondary schools, providing courses of five or six years leading to presentation for the Scottish Leaving Certificate. Some schools are solely junior secondary and some solely senior secondary, but there are also a number of schools, usually described as “comprehensive,” in which both three and five year courses are provided. The type of secondary education which a child will receive is decided at about age 12 largely on the basis of evidence derived from teachers' estimates of attainment, intelligence tests, and attainment tests, although it is possible for a child to be transferred subsequently from a three year to a five year course or *vice versa* if this appears desirable.

The majority of children educated within the public system receive their secondary education in the junior secondary school.¹ This type of school, however, holds a lower place in public esteem than does the senior secondary school. The chief reasons for this were briefly but adequately set out in a Report on Secondary Education by the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland issued in 1947.² Although this report was completed in 1946, the year before the raising of the

¹ From 20% to 40% of the pupils in each age-group are admitted to Scottish Leaving Certificate courses, the percentage varying according to the education area.

² Secondary Education. A Report of the Advisory Council on Education, in Scotland. Cmd. 7005, 1947.

school-leaving age from 14 to 15, and refers to conditions prior to that date, many of the Council's observations are still relevant.

The Report notes the contrast of long and short course schools: "The school which takes the pupil right to the threshold of every form of professional training naturally seems preferable to one which on a superficial view goes only half the way."³ It continues: "Again, the senior secondary school is as a rule selective, while the junior is not, and it seems a fair deduction that the school which is open only to certain levels of ability and attainment is more desirable than one which is open to all."⁴

In England, where the equivalents of the Scottish senior and junior level secondary schools are the secondary grammar and secondary modern schools, it was hoped at the time of the raising of the school-leaving age that the secondary modern school would achieve parity of esteem with the grammar school. When secondary education in England was made free for all under the Education Act of 1944, even the warmest supporters of the new educational system recognised that there could not be parity of esteem between different types of secondary school unless there were some parity of social esteem between the different occupations which children entered from the schools. It was believed, however, that one of the effects of the war would be to bring about a distribution of occupational prestige less heavily weighted in favour of "white-collar" occupations. In so far as these expectations related to differences of status between secondary grammar and secondary modern schools, they have not yet been fulfilled.

Since 1944, working-class children have been entering the grammar schools in greater numbers than before, while in Scotland it has long been possible for able working-class children to gain admission to the senior secondary schools. Investigation has shown, however, that the secondary modern schools cater largely for the children of manual workers, especially the semi-skilled and unskilled,⁶ and

³ Op. cit. p. 32.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ See for example, R. Pedley, "Comprehensive Education: A New Approach" London, 1956, pp. 16-20, & J. E. Floud, A. H. Halsey & F. M. Martin, "Social Class & Educational Opportunity," London, 1956, p. 77.

⁶ A. H. Halsey & L. Gardner, "Selection for Secondary Education and Achievement in Four Grammar Schools," *British Journal of Sociology*, March 1953, Vol. IV, No. 1, "Early Leaving," a Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England) 1954, also draws attention to the low rate of entry to grammar schools among unskilled workers' children.

although no similar enquiry has been made in Scotland, it is common knowledge that the junior secondary schools draw the greater number of their pupils from the same social class.

The development of a type of secondary education suitable for children in many of whom intellectual ability is slight is still in its early stages. Although junior secondary schools existed in Scotland for several years before 1947, they suffered many disadvantages. In particular, the Report on Secondary Education describes as "a crippling blow"⁷ the failure during the inter-war years to raise the school-leaving age from 14 to 15. The lower leaving age "allowed time neither to follow out a curriculum nor to cultivate community values, and the attitude of the average child was coloured almost from the outset by the imminence of his departure."⁸ The bookish tradition in Scottish education, particularly marked in the high-prestige senior secondary schools, may also have increased the difficulty of evolving a type of secondary education suitable for children who are not academically inclined.

Finally, it should be stressed that, although this larger issue is beyond the scope of this paper, the problems attending the growth of the junior secondary school can adequately be viewed only in the perspective of the whole educational system and indeed in relation to social changes occurring outside of that system not only in Scotland but in the whole of Britain. As regards factors affecting both junior secondary and senior secondary schools, there is, for instance, the sheer quantitative growth of secondary education in Scotland since the end of the first World War. "To school a limited and selected class," the Report on Secondary Education observes, "is relatively easy: to evolve a secondary education for the whole adolescent population is a task the immensity of which is only now breaking on us, because only in recent years have we come near to attempting it."⁹

II. THE TEACHER'S FUNCTION

The division of secondary education into two levels, catering for children of differing intellectual capacity and to some extent also, not at all by intent but as a result of the apparent association between measured intelligence and social class, for children of different social origins, is reflected in the differing conceptions held by junior and

⁷ Op. cit. p. 35.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Op. cit. p. 8.

senior secondary teachers of their principal functions as teachers.

Because of the differences between these two kinds of secondary school, differences in regard to the teacher's task, to the degree of acceptance which he receives as a teacher from his pupils, and in regard to the mental calibre and social characteristics of the pupils, the two groups of teachers might almost be said to form distinct sub-cultural groups within the teaching profession as a whole.¹⁰ One aspect of these differentiated occupational sub-cultures is discussed below.

The material presented is derived from two studies, one of a group of beginning teachers in Scottish secondary schools, the other of a group of Scottish secondary schoolteachers with five to ten years teaching experience.¹¹ These two groups numbered sixty-one teachers, of whom twenty-eight were employed in senior secondary schools and thirty-three in junior secondary schools. There were twenty-four women teachers in the two groups. All but one of these teachers were employed in public schools,¹² and all were graduate teachers of academic subjects.¹³ Both groups were self-selected: these teachers volunteered to take part in these enquiries in response to requests addressed to a number of beginning teachers and to a number of teachers with five to ten years teaching experience. Both enquiries were conducted by means of interviews and group discussions, supplemented, in the first enquiry, by written reports furnished periodically by the teachers during their first year of teaching. The views of teachers quoted in this paper have been taken from these three sources.

"Training for citizenship" is a phrase sometimes used by junior secondary teachers and others to describe the work of the junior secondary school and, while the term is large enough to be applied

¹⁰ This statement might require to be modified in the case of teachers employed in comprehensive schools. These were only two such among the teachers who took part in the enquiries here described.

¹¹ Both of these enquiries were carried out at the Social Sciences Research Centre of Edinburgh University, the second in collaboration with Mr. R. M. McKenzie of the Research Centre.

¹² In Scotland the term "public school" means any school under the management of an Education Authority.

¹³ By and large, teachers with honours degrees (a 4-year course in Scottish universities involving specialisation in one or more subjects) are preferred for senior secondary appointments, while teachers with ordinary degrees (a 3-year course of a more general nature) are more likely to find employment at the junior secondary or primary level. In Scotland, non-graduate teachers of academic subjects are normally employed only in the primary school.

to almost any aspect of the teacher's job in either the junior or the senior secondary school, the specific interpretations put upon it by teachers in the two kinds of school reveal interesting differences in their conceptions of their job. Briefly, many senior secondary teachers consider that such training is inherent in the intellectual disciplines through which they guide their pupils, that in the teaching of specific subjects they are preparing their pupils for adult life, and that the teaching of values is implicit in the instruction which a pupil receives at a senior secondary school.

Running through nearly all of the views expressed by senior secondary teachers on what they regarded as their main function, was a preoccupation with the development of the intellectual faculties and it was this aspect of training for citizenship that they considered to be the principal task of the senior secondary school.

In this conception of his role the senior secondary teacher is supported both by the public recognition accorded to the senior secondary school as a principal avenue to a wide range of white-collar occupations, including at the upper level those of high social prestige, and by the fact that many of his pupils share his view of the purpose of education. This identity of interest between teacher on the one hand and parents and pupils on the other, occurs less frequently in the rather more ambiguous situation of the junior secondary school.

The teacher in the junior secondary school is concerned with "training for citizenship" rather as meaning the inculcation of moral values of a general nature, and this concern stems chiefly from one source: many junior secondary teachers feel that the parents of many of their pupils have neglected, either wilfully or through ignorance, the upbringing of their children. A remark by one junior secondary teacher epitomises this attitude: "the parents produce them and that's the end." As a result of what they believe to be either parental neglect or adverse parental influences, some junior secondary teachers tend to see their pupils as either lacking in moral values or as having acquired the "wrong," sometimes near-delinquent values, and they are moved either to try to instil values where these appear to be lacking or to bring about a change of values.

Senior secondary teachers too may regard some of their younger pupils as lacking in moral values, but they are more likely to ascribe this to the pupils' youthfulness, to the fact that they are children, and immature, whereas the junior secondary teacher tends to ascribe what he perceives as his pupils' lack of standards, or their defective

standards, to adverse environmental conditions whose influence may continue to operate as the child grows older.

These points may be illustrated by quoting the remarks of some junior secondary teachers. One teacher described the aims of the junior secondary school as follows: "*Specifically*, to equip children with the basic essentials of the three Rs, in which the lower intelligence groups are weak even at the age of 12 plus. To try to give children a sense of (a) responsibility and (b) community in order to equip them as future employees and citizens. *Generally*, to supply directly or indirectly the training in morals, discipline and cleanliness which should be acquired in the home but so very often is *not*."

Another teacher said of his pupils' parent that "owing to the unco-operative attitude of *some* (parents), many pupils are made to believe that classes are a senseless waste of their time. . . ." and a third wrote that "In many homes of junior secondary pupils there seems to be very poor discipline and little moral influence. The junior secondary school is therefore much more of a school for citizenship. It is, for many children, the only contact made with an *ordered* system of life and social influences which transcend the importance of what can be bought with the weekly wage packet."

As these quotations may give a misleading impression of relations between teachers and pupils in the junior secondary school, it should be added that a teacher who holds these views on his pupils' morals does not necessarily dislike his pupils on that account and may still derive enjoyment from his relationship with them. One teacher, who described her pupils' standards of behaviour as "the reverse of what they should be" and whose account of conditions generally in the junior secondary school was a very unfavourable one, when asked what the junior secondary teacher could find to sustain his morale under those conditions, replied, "The friendly relationship with the pupils," although she still maintained that their standards were in need of correction. Another described his pupils as "very normal, reasonable beings," and attributed their defects to conditions in their homes, where, he said, the emphasis was mainly on money and on being "smart" and on pleasure.

The "great lack" of the junior secondary school, in the view of one woman teacher, is the fact that the pupils' parents are often not interested in their children's education at all. Another defined the function of the junior secondary teacher as "the teaching of skill and knowledge" but he added that the more low IQ pupils there were in a class, the more "other things swing over into greater im-

portance," such as the teaching of "socially desirable behaviour and ways of looking at things. There is a distinction here between pupils of different levels of intelligence, but other teachers considered that "training for citizenship" as described here was of importance throughout the junior secondary school.

It might, then, be said that the junior secondary teacher envisages his function as combining a measure of intellectual training at a fairly simple level with moral training, and that the latter, in the context of the junior secondary school, tends to resolve itself into an attempt to instil in the pupils certain ideal values which the teacher believes to be lacking in the social class from which many junior secondary pupils are drawn. In the case of the senior secondary teacher, this second function tends to be incorporated in or identified with the first, the training of the intellect, which is of course carried to a more advanced level than is possible in the junior secondary school, and the values with which the senior secondary teacher is concerned might themselves be described as intellectual rather than moral. It should be added that, however important a part of their task junior secondary teachers may consider the moral training of their pupils to be, they claim only very modest success in their efforts to this end.

The concern which junior secondary teachers expressed about the state of their pupils' morals and the relative failure in their own view of their efforts to alter their pupils' standards of behaviour are both perhaps to be explained in part by reference to certain factors in the teacher-pupil relationship which affect the teacher's perception of the child. The teacher does not see the whole child, he sees the schoolchild. If there is a 'role' of teacher, there is also a 'role' of pupil. In the same way as the teacher may be also a husband or a father or a club-member, so the school-child is also a son or a daughter or one of a play-group, and although there are no doubt elements of consistency in the behaviour which he displays in these different relationships, there may well be also important differences, and in any case it is only a part of the child's whole range of behaviour which is observable while the child is in school. The teacher, then, has only a partial view of the child and it is on this basis that he constructs his image of the whole child, an image which may be faulty and which is almost certainly incomplete. If the social background of teacher and pupil is similar, then, allowing for the fact that the two belong to different generations, the image which the teacher forms of the child may be more rather than less accurate. If they are unlike

there is a greater likelihood that the assumptions which the teacher makes about the child may be incorrect.

The suggestion that the teacher sees only the school child implies that he sees behaviour which is conditioned by the specific context in which it occurs, behaviour which represents a response to a single institution, the school. Even if the child is in fact indifferent or hostile to education, it does not necessarily follow that his attitude to other institutions, to other sets of values, of which the teacher himself might approve, is the same, although the teacher may be led to this conclusion by his observation of the child's behaviour in school. Again, if the child dislikes school he may tend to reject overtly values not exclusively related to formal education which his teachers present to him as desirable, and may thus give the impression of having rejected a wider range of values than is in fact the case.

Even if it were possible for the teacher to obtain a more rounded view of the child, there would remain limitations to the inculcation of the kind of values which some junior secondary teachers would wish their pupils to adopt, limitations imposed by the school itself. The school is not altogether a replica in little of the larger society: it is an institution which is equipped primarily to perform a specific function, the communication of knowledge, and which has necessarily characteristics and requirements peculiar to itself. There may be too great a disparity between the class-room situation and the circumstances in which the pupil finds himself outside of school for behaviour learnt in the one to be adopted effectively in the other. Thus, even if the teacher believes that his efforts to influence the child's behaviour are succeeding, it may be that the child is learning only how to comply with the requirements of his teachers while in school, that he is learning how to behave in school rather than anywhere else. The teacher can enlarge the area of his relationship with the child and hence his area of observation of the child by participation in extra-curricular activities, but these still occur within the general context of the teacher-pupil relationship, even if on the periphery of it, and the behaviour of many teachers certainly and possibly of their pupils too is influenced by their awareness of this.

This is not meant to imply that the teacher is wholly without influence on the child except as regards the child's behaviour in the classroom or school clubroom, but only to indicate some possible limitations on the extent of his influence. However, for the reasons given, it is the author's view that the junior secondary school is likely to make its most effective contribution to education in a somewhat

narrower field (if a no less important one) than would seem to be indicated by the concern of some junior secondary teachers with the moral training of their pupils. Changes in some junior secondary schools in the organisation and content of courses and developments in the teaching methods employed would appear to offer most promise for the future of the junior secondary school.

Several teachers described the considerable advances made in devising a "practical" approach to mathematics and some of them considered that this group of subjects, as now taught in the junior secondary school, actually makes more appeal to the pupils than it does to many pupils in the senior secondary school in the form in which it is taught there. Teachers of History and Geography said that in recent years the content of courses in these subjects had been revised to bring them into closer relation with the abilities of the pupils and that there had been improvement in teaching methods, and some of these teachers were of opinion that senior secondary pupils in the lower "streams"¹⁴ would benefit from courses in these subjects of the kind now being given in some junior secondary schools.¹⁵

As these developments continue and become more widespread, they may have important effects on the teacher-pupil relationship in the junior-secondary school. Many of the difficulties of the junior secondary teacher arise from the sheer difficulty of arousing the interest of his pupils. The disciplinary problem in the junior secondary school stems partly from this, as does the sense of frustration which sometimes assails even the most optimistic of junior secondary teachers. It has been suggested that the junior secondary teacher's view of his pupils may be unduly influenced by their response to a single institution, the school. If, as a result of the developments described above, it should become possible to induce in the pupils a more favourable response, then the teacher's perception of his pupils may alter accordingly and he may see less cause for concern at their moral condition. And to induce such a response, particularly in more backward pupils, may in itself be a considerable educational achievement and one capable of giving the teacher a good deal of professional satisfaction. Many junior secondary teachers spoke of the sometimes disheartening effect of the apparent aimless-

¹⁴ Pupils in the same year of schooling are "streamed," i.e., allocated to different classes, according to ability, and follow appropriately modified courses.

¹⁵ Descriptions of such developments are given in the annual reports of the Scottish Education Department.

ness of junior secondary education. Some were of the opinion that if a junior secondary leaving certificate awarded on the results of an external examination were to be introduced it would help remedy this, both by offering some pupils at least a reward worth striving for and by making the teacher's task more meaningful. Even without this clearly-defined aim to work towards, if the junior secondary teacher is able to enjoy more often than at present the satisfaction of doing as good a job as he would like to do, then he may suffer fewer misgivings about the aimlessness of his efforts.

What has been written above concerns mainly the teacher's conception of his pupils, but the crux of the matter would seem to be his ability to control the conception which they have of him, not of course as an end in itself but as a means of facilitating the educational process. This ability it may be more difficult for the junior secondary teacher than for his senior secondary colleague to acquire, among other reasons, because of the likelihood that class-cultural differences between teacher and pupil will in many cases be greater in the junior secondary school, and because the aims and methods of junior secondary education are still in a more fluid state than are those of education at the senior secondary level.

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EUROPEANS LOOK AT THE AMERICAN COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL

Lealand D. Stier

A paradox? It is strange that as we in America face the cold war, the missile race, and other economic hardships we turn our eyes in the direction of European educational institutions and seek the answer to our educational ills. At the same time, Europeans evaluate their schools and look to the United States for leadership in the reform of their institutions so that they may better meet the needs of their youth.

Perhaps the greatest problem in American educational life is that we have far too many "experts" within our confines that know the answers and where we may find the answers. In a recent trip to Europe to study adolescents in their respective cultures as found in the countries of England, France and Italy, the writer was impressed by the reaction of Europeans toward the American school. Youth and adults alike were teeming with questions concerning our educational institutions and what they were like. Young people were impressed with the differences and often indicated that many of our ideas should become a part of their schools.

A study of these countries and their educational institutions indicates at once (1) that the schools of Europe are highly selective beyond the primary or elementary level; (2) that their curriculums are indeed academic and are not meeting the needs of the vast majority of adolescents in these countries; and (3) that there is a desire to reform their educational opportunities and provide many of the advantages of the American comprehensive school for their own youth. But these countries are not without their traditionalists as is true of the United States. Reform is slow; particularly slow in these countries due to their heavy demands for economic recovery following the war. But all signs indicate that economic recovery is steady, and the governments can now turn their eyes in the direction of social improvements.

Is it fair to judge educational programs only upon their academic offerings and academic achievements? Are there not other criteria by which we should also judge these institutions of learning? A British educator writes:

It is disquieting to observe that although a great deal is known concerning education for communism and education for fascism, little is known about education for democracy. Yet, in a democ-

racy the bottom 70% of the community matters even more than the 20-30% of the intellectuals. If we really desire a democratic society, the question of education for the social discipline which a true democracy necessitates is of vital importance; and yet the psychological, economic, and intellectual conditions necessary to such a way of living are still obscure.¹

It seems apparent that education must be evaluated by several criteria and that much work still needs to be done if educational institutions are to make a significant contribution to the needs of our democratic life.

Why are Europeans looking to us for guidance and leadership, Typical of many statements concerning the need for reform in European schools is the following:

Our present scholastic organization (actually not only ours) seems to strictly conform to the old Bible saying that "The left hand should never know what the right hand is doing." The various grades are overlapping and often contrasting; in this manner we can't speak of a system. . . . As the elementary school is not yet the school of the "child" so the secondary school is not the school for the "preadolescent" or the "adolescent," but only a school for academic instruction. Secondary education does not mean equal secondary education for everybody. It is evident for the necessity of coming out of the traditional academic model for the school (that is for only the elite) toward a school that will offer to every adolescent a chance to meet the type of guidance that best fits his economic means.²

Much has been written concerning the academic standards and the educational achievements of a select few European students, but has this been valid? Should we not look at the other functions of education as it serves a democratic people as well as its academic respectability?

Many reforms are taking place in European schools. England passed the Educational Reform Act in 1945 which allowed for the raise in the compulsory school age and allowed the development of the Comprehensive High School. This school is quite different from that of our concept of a comprehensive high school but has done

¹ Brew, J. MacAllister. *Youth and Youth Groups*. London. Faber and Faber, 24 Russell Sq. 1957.

² Bartolomeis, F. de. *La Psicologia dell'adolescente e l'educazione*. Firenze La Nuova Italia, Editrice. 1955. p. 377.

much to point the way for even greater reforms in the English school system.

The 400 year old Grammar school may struggle to maintain its standard of hard work and harder punishment, but, for the first time in its history, the Headmaster is not a Minister of the Church.

Throughout the State schools an altogether easier and more permissive existence is enjoyed by the pupils. The recognition of individual differences in ability means that punishment follows unruly behavior rather than scholastic failure. . . . Classes are still too large and many schools have dingy and unattractive buildings, but there is no doubt that children enjoy their tasks in a way which was hardly possible before.³

What are some of the other conditions which we find in an analysis of the European school systems as observed in these three countries?

Table I

SCHOOL ENROLLMENTS IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND

FRANCE		ENGLAND	
TYPE SCHOOL	NUMBER	TYPE SCHOOL	NUMBER
Public Primary School (Elementary)	5,780,000	Elementary 5-14 years	6,691,378
Private	1,080,000		
TOTAL	6,860,000		
Public Secondary School	500,000	Secondary	248,869
Private Secondary School	370,000	15 years and over	
TOTAL	870,000		
Technical School	90,000	Universities	97,137
College or University	157,280	Men	73,182
		Women	23,955

One of the criteria by which we can measure the effectiveness of any school system is its holding power—that is, the extent to which students remain in school. Table I indicates that in France over 6½ million students are enrolled in public and private primary schools (elementary). This number reduces to some 870,000 students remaining in the secondary schools with an additional 90,000 that

³ Sody, Kenneth. *Mental Health and Infant Development*. Proceedings of International Seminar of World Federation for Mental Health, Chichester, England. New York. Basic Books. 1956. p. 7.

enroll in the technical schools of France. Eighty-six percent of those enrolled in the Elementary schools drop out at the completion of their educational program and only 14 percent continue their education in the secondary and technical schools. Table I also indicates that only 4 percent of the students continue their education and enroll in collegiate or University programs.⁴

England presents a similar pattern of school holding power. In 1945 the Education Reform Act as passed by Parliament increased the compulsory school age to 16 years. This is comparable to most states in the United States that have a compulsory school age law; however, no such compulsory school age exists in Italy. Table I also indicates that 78 percent of all English school children leave at the minimum school age to enter occupational endeavors: 22 percent additional students remain in school to continue their education. However, half of these drop out of school at the age of 16. Only 7 percent of the British youth continue their educational pursuits in colleges or universities.⁵

Surveys of English youth⁶ state that the majority of them are living in a "type of community" that is characterized by (1) closed and disintegrating features (traditions that are rapidly in decay or towns that are being deserted by industrial concerns) or (2) open and not integrated features (suburbs of larger cities). Youth want to leave the closed and disintegrated type of community and move toward the towns with modern ideas and new industrial life.

With the improvement of education it is indicated that the father-son transmittal and acceptance of occupational status will disappear to a great extent and become an uplifting factor in the lives of the young people.

Whether conscious or not, (identification with family member occupation) the desire to do what his male forbear has done, or to comply with their wishes, often influenced the selection of the specific job within a particular occupational level.⁷

As a result of this type of family stereotype as far as occupational life is concerned and with the disintegration of certain communities many youth become unhappy drifters in the occupational life of England.

⁴ Perruchot, H. *La France et sa Jeunesse*. Paris. Hachette. 1958. p. 192.

⁵ Henshall, Albert E. *The Teacher's Pocketbook*. London. Evans Bros., Ltd. 1958.

⁶ Logan, R. F. L. and Goldberg, E. M. "Rising Eighteen in a London Suburb." *The British Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 4:4. Dec. 1953. 323-345.

⁷ Logan. *ibid*.

Italy faces problems even more acute than those of England and France. Few statistics are available; however, a recent report⁸ would indicate a very low school population in all phases of the Italian educational system. Former President Luigi Emandi stated that there are "so few jobs for intellectuals that all of University life is being distorted." While every effort is being made by the government to improve educational offerings and facilities, the task is large and ominous. With increased industrial activity, the government is busy-ing itself with what to do about the many Italian illiterates.

Effective educational programs tend to reduce illiteracy. Italy needs many more basic elementary schools. To meet this need in part the 1959 legislature stated that they were spending an additional 42 million lire (about \$70,000 at current rates of exchange) to improve elementary education. The Central Statistics Institute reported that only 9 percent of Italy's families ever read a book. 41 percent have never read anything and less than 50 percent ever see a newspaper. Northern Italy near the Switzerland border provides the best newspaper reading area where it is estimated that 34 percent of the people get at least one daily paper. In one locality of southern Italy only 180 newspapers are sold in a town having a population of some 25,000 people. In other areas it is said that only the village doctor, policeman, or priest see a paper.⁹

Compare this to the recent release concerning illiteracy in our own country which states that the level of schooling among the adults is higher than ever before. Fifty percent of the adult population now has 11 years of schooling, (western states average schooling is 12.1 years), as compared with 9.3 years in 1950. Illiteracy in the United States has fallen to 2.2 percent and nearly all Americans 14 years or older can read and write.¹⁰ This indicates a great growth in the educational development of our people in the last twenty years.

One of the criteria for the evaluation of any school system should be that of meeting the educational needs of the nation as well as reducing the illiterate level of the country. Certainly the United States can be proud of its achievements in this area as can the countries of France, England and even Russia. Another area which should serve as a criterion is preparation for life. How effective are schools?

Many critics feel that preparation for life is automatic and a

⁸ McGurn, Barrett. "Readers and Doctors in Italy." *New York Herald Tribune* (European Edition). May 7, 1959. p. 4.

⁹ McGurn., *Op. cit.*

¹⁰ "Illiteracy Down" *Time Magazine*. Vol. 75:7. 1960. p. 59.

resultant behavior of exposure to academic life. Certainly one of the major requirements or tasks of the school is to give the boys and girls the necessary background for the development of a salable skill (occupation). With the highly academic approach of the European secondary school, to what extent do they fulfill this task?

It was stated earlier that many English youth find themselves in communities which are slowly disintegrating through social or economic developments. As a result of this disintegration, there is a large group of unhappy workers who are drifting in the industrial regions of England.

A recent study of English youth's attitudes toward school revealed that 62 percent of the boys who had left school had no desire to return or remain in school any longer than they did. Sixty-eight percent of the girls made a similar statement.¹¹ These rather high percentages do not speak too favorably of the type of curriculum developed to challenge those boys and girls who are not going on to pursue a college preparatory program.

Recently these dissatisfied people have joined the "Teddy Boys" movement for the social order in which they find themselves is void of any hard work and hope, (military service blocks this for most of them). They have difficulty in finding movements which appeal to them and offer them a creative role in the cultural and social life of their time.¹²

In France¹³ a great deal more satisfaction was found among its youth. Twenty-nine percent of the youth indicated they had studied rather thoroughly the selection of an occupation while thirty-eight percent had given some consideration to it. Thirty-three percent had given no thought to the selection of an occupation. When asked if their schooling had been of use in their vocational life, six percent indicated it had been excellent, fifty-three percent said they were satisfied, and thirty-six percent stated that their studies had been unsatisfactory.

Forty-two percent of the French youth indicated satisfaction with their present occupation and forty-two percent indicated momentary satisfaction with the remaining sixteen percent indifferent or without opinion. When asked as to the best occupation for which they could prepare, sixty-eight percent of the girls said "shopwork" or sales girls. Men indicated engineering or related technical work, and twelve

¹¹ "80,000 Adolescents." Westhill Training College. Directed and described by Byron H. Reed, D. D. London. George Allen. 1950.

¹² Paul, L. "The Teddy Boys." Cambridge Review. Vol. 6:57. 1959. p. 643.

¹³ Giroud, Francois. *La Nouvelle Vague*. Gallimard. Paris. 1958. pp. 333-335.

percent of those interviewed indicated just being a worker. Government work holds a high placement value for French youth. French youth seem to be more satisfied with their station in life and do not indicate as much dissatisfaction with their school life as is reflected by the English and Italian youth.

In Italy adolescents declare this dissatisfaction as a pessimistic or sceptical mood. They accuse society and men for their general sufferings today. Thirty-two percent of the men and forty-one percent of the women indicated their pessimism or unhappiness.¹⁴ Certainly this would indicate dissatisfaction with their current status in life. Italian academic life is geared to the upper classes and the middle classes that can afford to go to school. Many Italian youth are denied education and reflect this in the attitudes expressed.

CONCLUSION

When a comparison is made between the European schools and their service to the people at large, one is immediately impressed with the great task which has confronted the American comprehensive school. In the United States it is important to remember that our schools are no longer the highly selective schools that they were prior to 1920. This is often a fact overlooked by the many critics of the American school. Ninety percent of our adolescents are in school, and this sheer weight of numbers creates a task untold. The predictions for the future indicate that the compulsory school age will soon be increased to 21 and this will create even greater problems.

In view of the American concept and belief, *accepted and demanded* by parents, that all children must secure an education through the collegiate levels if they are capable, our schools are doing a significant task and deserve only the very highest support from its teachers, parents and public citizens. Our educational concept is geared to "education of all youth" and not an "elite." This is a basic need for a great democratic society. Never can this social group be satisfied with its performances of the past nor the present. Constant evaluation is needed in order to consistently improve our educational offerings and give leadership to the other great democracies of the world. Critics are needed, but let these critics be constructive and look at the real purpose of universal education in our American way of life.

¹⁴ Bartolomeis, F. de. *La Psicologia dell'adolescente e l'educazione*. Firenze. La Nuova Italia, editrice. 1955.

A NEW DIMENSION IN TEACHER SELECTION

Lou Kleinman

The current shortage of teachers has hastened the obsolescence of traditional techniques for selecting teachers. The school administrator is no longer always able to select the "best" of several well-qualified candidates for a teaching vacancy. A competent neophyte often has at least as much choice in the placement-selection process as the employing official. It may be prudent, therefore, to rely increasingly on the skill of the teaching candidate in the complex task of matching job specifications with qualifications. Improved instruction is but one of many benefits likely to derive from increased placement accuracy.

Need has been cited by educational leaders for a revitalized approach to teacher placement and selection with special emphasis on the role of the candidate in these respects. Research and reports related to the placement-selection process still tend, however, to be oriented to the identification of superior methods of gathering and evaluating data about candidates. The functions of placement and employing officials have been given careful attention. Professional literature in the area deals predominantly with such factors as the effective utilization of placement services and the validity of references, standardized examinations, and subjective impressions gained during interviews. There have been no reported studies on the amount of information teachers possess about prospective positions *before* accepting them. Yet, school personnel specialists are adopting the view that selection is a two-way process. Just as the employer tries to secure a maximum of information about candidates, so candidates should be thoroughly informed about the position under consideration. An enlightened decision by a teacher to accept or reject a job offer serves the interests of the teacher, the profession, the children, and the school-community involved.

THE STUDY

In view of these points, research was undertaken designed to determine the extent to which beginning teachers are selective in choosing their first teaching positions and the extent to which they make satisfactory adjustment during the first year of teaching. The relationship between selectivity and adjustment received careful scrutiny, and an effort was made to identify those particular situational factors for which selectivity correlated significantly with adjustment. The basic hypothesis to be tested was that the degree of selectivity

shown by beginning teachers in choosing their first positions is positively and significantly related to the adjustment they make during the first year of teaching. *Situational factors* was defined as elements of the total school-community environment which lie outside the control of the teacher and are not directly related to his personality or personal background; *teachers selectivity*, as the degree to which a teacher acquires information related to situational factors before accepting a position; and *teacher adjustment*, as the degree to which a teacher derives pleasure and satisfaction from the total school-community environment.

Studies and reports published from 1951 to 1958 dealing with teacher satisfaction, difficulties, placement, and selection were reviewed intensively in search of situational factors which might affect the adjustment of beginning teachers. A comprehensive list of such factors was compiled and forwarded to a jury of educational personnel specialists for reaction. The jury validated the list and weighted each factor on a five-point scale in terms of its relative importance. The validated list of weighted situational factors constituted the body of two basic instruments. Questionnaire I, dealing with selectivity, was distributed to all the beginning teachers (275) in two counties at the beginning of an academic year; Questionnaire II, pertaining to adjustment, was distributed near the close of the same academic year. One hundred forty-four teachers completed and returned both questionnaires in useable form.

While Questionnaire I was designed to elicit from participating teachers whether or not they possessed information about each of the critical situational factors before accepting their positions, Questionnaire II was structured to draw a self-evaluation of the degree to which they were satisfied with these factors. The former was scored to determine an index of selectivity for each participant; the latter, to yield an index of adjustment. The teachers were ranked according to their respective indices of selectivity and adjustment, and the Rank Order Coefficient of Correlation formula was applied to the sets of ranks to find the extent to which selectivity correlated with adjustment. The coefficient of correlation was computed to be .46, which proved to be significant at the .001 level.

The item responses on Questionnaire I of the 36 most satisfied and the 36 least satisfied teachers were compared to identify the situational factors with respect to which selectivity (possession of information) was significantly related to overall subsequent adjustment. The special factors thus identified are listed below.

Personal background data on participating teachers are worthy of note. Beginning teachers at the elementary level were predominantly female while most of the males held secondary level positions. The participants tended to be mature men and women who had family responsibilities. The school districts in which they were employed were not their home communities. Most grade and subject specialties were represented in the group. While a large majority of the teachers had earned bachelor's degrees of various kinds, more than half held substandard teaching certificates. Participating teachers learned of the vacancies they were to fill from a wide range of sources, but the placement efforts of the largest percentage were haphazard and disorganized.

CONCLUSIONS

Almost every conceivable aspect of school-community life is related in some measure to teacher satisfaction. The professional literature makes reference to an extremely wide range of such factors, and experts in the field of school personnel concurred that 250 of them are critical to teacher adjustment. The specialists specified, however, that situational factors vary in the degree to which they are likely to affect adjustment. Factors judged most critical by the jury of experts tended to be associated with teacher welfare and the teacher-learning process.

Beginning teachers were not, as a group, selective in choosing their positions. They were inclined to accept their positions knowing very little about them. A substantial number were almost totally uninformed within the framework of this study. Open-ended reactions to the questionnaires revealed that many had little comprehension of the details which compose the teaching environment. The factors about which teachers felt they had had information tended to be in the area of general community environment. The smallest percentages of teachers had had information about factors related to administration and supervision, instructional program, community environment, and personnel policies. Thus, at the time they accepted their positions, the highest percentages of teachers did have information about many factors deemed least critical by the experts and did not have information about factors considered most critical. The lack of coincidence in this respect is striking.

The feelings of participating teachers as a group about their positions were centered between indifference and moderate satisfaction on a scale established for the study. While there were relatively few

factors with which the group was dissatisfied, there was an unexpectedly large percentage of school-community factors toward which it was indifferent. It is difficult to reconcile such widespread indifference on the part of beginners who accept teaching as a chosen career. It may be that teaching experience quickly dampens enthusiasm. On the other hand, some of the background data on participants may be interpreted to show that a number of them undertook teaching as a "second choice" or temporary measure.

The Rank Order Coefficient of Correlation between selectivity and adjustment, .46, was significant at the .001 level. The possibility that the sets of rank orders derived in the study was a chance occurrence was, therefore, rejected, and the association between selectivity and adjustment was clearly established as beyond reasonable doubt. It was concluded, furthermore, that the degree of selectivity shown by teachers in choosing their first positions was positively and significantly related to the adjustment they make during the first year of teaching.

The situational factors identified as those for which possession of information prior to employment (selectivity) was significantly related to subsequent adjustment were concentrated in the areas of specifics of the particular position, personnel policies, school plant, personnel, and community environment. These factors constitute the bulk of the list of crucial situational factors which follow.

COMMUNITY FACTORS

1. Size of the community and its location in relation to other population centers.
2. Population characteristics such as distribution of family income levels and achieved educational levels.
3. Attitude of the population toward education.
4. Cost of living in the community (compared with the national index and with neighboring communities).
5. Types, adequacy, and cost of housing facilities.
6. Nearness of available housing facilities to the school(s).
7. Types, adequacy, and cost of transportation facilities.
8. Types, adequacy, and cost of restaurant services.
9. Number and diversity of organized social groups, service groups, clubs, and fraternal orders in the community.
10. Types and frequency of social functions taking place in the community.
11. Opportunities for teachers to participate in the social life of the community.

12. Type, structure, and operation of the local government.
13. Availability of facilities for cultural-educational presentations—motion picture houses, theaters, museums, zoos, forums, galleries, concert halls, and meeting halls.
14. Types and frequency of cultural-educational presentations offered in the community.
15. Number of radio stations and television channels received in the community, and quality of reception.
16. Adequacy of library facilities available in the community.
17. Location of community in relation to colleges, universities, and other institutions of higher education.
18. Number, types, and cost of recreational facilities available in the community.
19. Number, types, and cost of health service facilities available in the community.
20. Opportunities to participate in the religious life of the community.
21. Special repressions and demands by the community on teacher conduct.
22. Status of teachers in the community.
23. Attitude of the community toward educational issues such as school program, curriculum, and teaching practices.

FACTORS RELATED TO THE INSTRUCTIONAL PROGRAM

24. Statement of philosophy and objectives of education of the school or school system.
25. Recommended and/or prevailing teaching methods utilized in the school or school system.
26. Teacher freedom to experiment in the classroom with instructional methods and content.
27. Number and diversity of instructional programs and courses offered in the school or school system—vocational, commercial, general, college preparatory, applied arts and sciences.
28. Personnel responsible for the selection and organization of courses, content, units, and/or experiences composing the curriculum.
29. Availability of and flexibility in the use of curriculum guides (courses of study).
30. Opportunities for teacher participation in curriculum planning.
31. Staff personnel responsibilities related to the "extra-curricular" program.

32. Sufficiency, diversity, and appropriateness of materials of instruction.
33. Organization for identifying, selecting, procuring, distributing, and sharing materials of instruction.
34. Special arrangements and procedures for the utilization of audio-visual materials of instruction.
35. Number and types of available community resources for instruction.
36. School rules and regulations related to student control (discipline).
37. Special responsibilities of teachers related to student control (discipline).
38. Special services available for the facilitation of student control (discipline).
39. Personnel responsible for the evaluation of pupil progress.
40. Methods of testing pupil progress.
41. Methods of reporting pupil progress to parents.
42. Policies and practices related to promotion in the school or school system.
43. General rules and regulations related to classroom management in the school or school system.
44. Role of the teacher in determining rules and regulations related to classroom management.
45. Policies and practices related to student grouping in the school or school system.
46. Procedures and criteria utilized in the evaluation of the instructional program.
47. Responsibilities and degree of participation by school personnel in the evaluation and planning of the instructional program.

**FACTORS RELATED TO ORGANIZATION, ADMINISTRATION, AND
SUPERVISION OF THE SCHOOLS**

48. Philosophy and stated purposes of school administrations and supervision.
49. Availability of code of administrative and supervisory policies and practices.
50. Opportunities for teacher participation in the administrative processes.
51. Number, types and functions of administrative positions in the school or school system.
52. Number, types, and functions of supervisory positions in the school or school system.

53. Lines of authority and communication between school positions.
54. School policies and practices related to class load, "extra" assignments during the school day, after school assignments, faculty committees, and special responsibilities of staff members.
55. School policies and practices related to length of the school year, length of the school day, number of sessions per day, time and length of teacher lunch period, and school holidays.
56. Time allotted for attending professional conferences.
57. Number, purposes, organization, and scheduling of faculty meetings.
58. Teacher responsibilities related to faculty meetings.
59. Number and types of clerical duties and reports required of teachers.
60. Statement of school policies by the Board of Education.

FACTORS RELATED TO PERSONNEL POLICIES AND PRACTICES

61. Salary ranges for personnel in the school or school system, and the size and number of increments.
62. Merit increments, bonuses, and salary incentives for evidence of professional growth.
63. School policies related to "extra pay for extra assignments."
64. School policies and practices related to teacher security and welfare—tenure, retirement and pension, health and life insurance, distribution of teacher "load," handling of teacher grievances, and provision for free and rest periods during the school day.
65. School policies and practices related to leaves of absence—sick leave, maternity leave, leave for religious purposes, leave for personal business, leave to attend professional meetings.
66. Procedures and criteria utilized in the selection of school personnel, and special responsibilities of staff members in this respect.
67. Procedures and criteria utilized in the evaluation of teacher competence.
68. Special responsibilities and degree of staff participation in the teacher evaluation process.
69. School policies and practices related to promotion of staff members within the school system.
70. School policies and practices related to assisting worthy staff members to achieve recognition and advancement within the profession.

71. Availability of institutions of higher education at which to continue study.
72. Types of activities constituting the teacher in-service training program.
73. School policies and practices related to introducing new teachers to the community and facilitating initial teacher adjustment to the community.
74. School policies and practices related to introducing new teachers to the total school program and to their particular responsibilities.
75. Contractual repressions and guarantees related to teachers' activities as members of the professional staff and as members of the community.

FACTORS RELATED TO PERSONNEL

76. Distribution of pupil intelligence quotients and other test scores.
77. Record of pupil achievement and performance.
78. Family backgrounds of pupil population.
79. Record of truancy and delinquency on the part of the pupil population.
80. Distribution of specializations of staff members.
81. Experience backgrounds of staff members.
82. Organized social and professional activities engaged in by the staff.

FACTORS RELATED TO SCHOOL PLANT

83. Current condition of school building(s) and grounds.
84. Number, diversity, and condition of classrooms, special purpose rooms, and special areas.
85. Size, location, and suitability of classrooms and special purpose rooms, e.g., lunch room, gymnasium, library, administrative and teacher offices, rest rooms, etc.).
86. Appropriateness and flexibility of furniture and equipment for instruction.
87. Adequacy of heating, cooling, lighting, and ventilation systems.
88. Duties and responsibilities of custodial staff, and custodial staff cooperation with professional staff.

FACTORS RELATED TO SPECIAL SERVICES

89. Teacher responsibilities related to the guidance program.
90. Teacher responsibilities related to the health services program.
91. Teacher responsibilities related to the psychological services program.

92. Teacher responsibilities related to the school lunch program.
93. Teacher responsibilities related to pupil transportation services.

FACTORS RELATED TO SPECIFICS OF THE PARTICULAR POSITION

94. The specific teaching load involved.
95. Assigned extra duties during the school day.
96. Assigned extra duties after school hours.
97. Assigned duties related to the "extra-curricular" program.
98. Number and types of committee assignments.
99. Adequacy of room assignments.
100. Administrative and supervisory personnel to whom you are directly responsible.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Every school system should produce a brochure or handbook providing in organized form objective information about school-community factors critical to teacher adjustment. Particular emphasis might be placed in such brochures on those factors with respect to which possession of information prior to employment is significantly related to adjustment (see list of crucial situational factors above). When an opening occurs, a supplement could be added to the prepared material giving a complete job description and analysis of the specific position involved. The basic brochure and supplement would be made available to candidates for the position so that they might give consideration to the information contained therein in deciding whether or not to accept a job offer. Each candidate would thus evaluate the suitability of the school-community environment, just as the school evaluates the suitability of the candidate. Enlightened decisions by teaching candidates should pay dividends in increased teacher satisfaction and, concomitantly, in teacher effectiveness. The prepared material also could be placed on file with institutional and commercial placement offices.

Teacher education institutions should offer a course designed to help teachers develop effective techniques for seeking and securing suitable positions. Among the units composing the course, one might deal with situational factors critical to teacher adjustment, giving special attention to means for acquiring information relevant to them. Another unit might be oriented toward the development of evaluative skills associated with recognizing school-community environments compatible with one's personality, background, training, and educational outlook. The general objective would be to produce teachers who are selective in choosing their positions. Justification for the

course would be increased placement accuracy and the benefits to be derived therefrom. Institutions unable to inaugurate a course in "placement" should make their placement offices responsible for conducting periodic placement clinics and seminars geared to accomplish purposes similar to those already delineated.

Teacher education institutions should provide students with a list of situational factors critical to teacher adjustment. The list would serve as a guide to those seeking positions and help neophytes play an active, directive part in interviews with employing officials. Too often candidates ask few questions during interviews because they are unaware of the pertinent factors about which they might inquire.

Every school system desiring the services of a placement office should be required to register formally and place on file credentials containing certain types of information. Information included in school-community credentials might follow the outline of the list of key situational factors derived in this study. (see above). Currently, only candidates are required to register and place professional credentials on file with the placement office. Under the proposed plan, the placement office would maintain a school-community credentials file along with registrants' credentials file. Such an arrangement would facilitate making placement a two-way process. The placement office would provide candidates for a position with information about related critical school-community factors. Candidates would review the qualifications of the school, just as employing officials review the qualifications of candidates. Again, improved placement accuracy is likely to result from increased selectivity by teaching candidates. The relationship between selectivity and subsequent adjustment demonstrated by this study makes this outcome vital. Coincidentally, the availability of school-community credentials would enable placement officials to do a better job of matching job requirements with teacher qualifications.

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THE LEGAL POSITION OF THE STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

Ralph Erickson

Back of the teachers and back of the school board members, there is the vague, impersonal organization known as the state department of education. While this organization is headed by one known as the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, his powers and duties seem hidden from the eyes of ordinary teachers, and brought out only in emergencies. Sometimes teachers have tended to see here a power which is not responsible to the members of the profession, nor to anyone else. This is an attempt to define precisely the administrative responsibility and accountability of any person who holds the position of Illinois State Superintendent.

Accountability is the more precise, legalistic term. It refers to those actions one is duty bound to do, in which one has no discretion, after satisfying himself what the facts of the matter are. Many of these duties are set down in law. Generally, they denote the relations which must obtain between the executive, judicial, and legislative branches of government.

One may be accountable both to those above and below him in an administrative hierarchy, but ordinarily this term implies only an upward extension. The possibility that persons lower in the scale may have no means of recourse against a higher official does not invalidate the theory of accountability. Quite possibly, the theory that the superior is accountable for the actions of his subordinates is derived from the common law relationship of master and slave.

Responsibility is the more general term. One may be responsible as an administrative officer when he has some discretion for his actions. One may hold himself responsible in a moral way for his actions as a member of some professional or organized group. One may share responsibility with others, but one is accountable alone.

One is responsible to those people to whom one has an obligation that cannot be exactly stated in law. The obligations are such that if a superior believes that his inferior has failed to perform them, that person may be relieved of his duties for general incompetence, but could not be made to answer in court.

The governor could allow the state superintendent to resign if they did not agree as to how the department should be operated, but no other action could be taken. But if an official appropriates state funds for himself, he could be made to stand trial. In this matter he is accountable for his actions.

It is indicative of the far reaching changes in political life in the past 25 years, that now we think of the federal government when reference is made to government in general. State governments are no less sovereign, as the Constitution states that powers not expressly given to the federal government are reserved for the states or to the people. The current view that we must look to Washington for everything is the mirage of great distances. States have given up many functions to the federal government, but there is considerable doubt if this is wise.

We have deliberately chosen to discuss state education administration rather than education on the federal level for two reasons:

The first is that the federal education offices have nowhere near the relative importance at that level that the state department of education has in state matters. The federal Office of Education controls very little of the total amount the federal government spends for schools. Much larger amounts are spent by the Defense, Agriculture, and Interior departments.

The second reason is that the state department actually directs the operation of Illinois' public schools. There is no national system of education as that term is understood abroad, instead we have 50 separate systems. The federal office primarily gathers statistics, conducts studies, and runs an information service.

Illinois is one of the few states that does not have a state school board. This means that the state superintendent has a great deal of authority. In addition to this, the superintendent is not appointed but is elected by the people, so that he may act independently of the governor, although a member of the governor's official family. The damages that an unprincipled state superintendent could do are very great. There are no academic or experience qualifications for the state superintendency.

The School Code makes no mention of a state department of education, not even to say that it should be under the direction of the state superintendent. An examination of the Code indicates that the superintendent has many responsibilities but few areas in which he is accountable. In effect, the superintendent is the department.

The law definitely states that the superintendent has the powers and the duties to perform many actions. If the phrase "duties and powers" is to be construed as meaning that a duty is a power then the superintendent is accountable in all matters. If the phrase means "duties or powers" then he is accountable for the duties listed and responsible for the wise exercise of powers given. If it means that he

has the duty to do certain things and is given enough powers to accomplish these duties, then he must be both accountable and responsible for the same actions, as they can be separated only in theory.

It is too narrow a construction to say that the superintendent must do all things personally, even though that is the plain wording of the law. In any event, some duties must be delegated to subordinates. There are approximately 30 separate duties listed in the Code, which may be classified under particular categories.

ACCOUNTABILITY OF STATE SUPERINTENDENT

Qualification for office. The state superintendent must be elected by the qualified voters of the state, take an oath, and deposit a bond with the secretary of state.

Certification functions. The state superintendent must issue certificates to those teachers that have earned them. He must also certify to the Auditor of Public Accounts which county superintendents are qualified to take office.

Disbursement of funds. The superintendent is directed to expend state school funds in a prescribed manner. No discretion is involved. The superintendent must accept and expend funds received from the federal office of education.

The state superintendent must require county superintendents or others to withhold money from schools or teachers until all reports have been completed and all bonds executed. He must also direct the state auditor to hold up funds until reports are in.

Reporting. The state superintendent of public instruction must make a report to the governor on many detailed items. The date of completing this report is set down in the law.

RESPONSIBILITY OF STATE SUPERINTENDENT

The superintendent's responsibilities have reference to those functions he is directed to perform, but the methods employed may be chosen by him, and it would be a matter of opinion whether or not he has done his work well.

Record keeping. There must be kept a complete file of all papers, reports, and public documents relating to the schools of the state. When educational institutions are being discontinued within Illinois, the state superintendent must request their records for safekeeping if other arrangements are not being made.

The state superintendent must direct the county superintendents, school trustees, charter district officials, and other school officials to

keep such reports, records, budget forms, and accounting systems as is deemed necessary.

Leadership. The state superintendent has the general charge of all the public schools in the state. He must make such rules as he thinks desirable. He sets standards for the educational and building programs of all types of schools. He is directed to authorize county superintendents to hold institutes and generally to advise them.

Assistance to local units. The state superintendent is the legal advisor of local school officers, and may hear appeals from the county superintendents. He must counsel with teachers as to the best manner of conducting public schools. He also sets the standards (within limitations) for the establishment of junior colleges by local school units.

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THE SOCIOLOGY OF HEALTH AND MEDICINE: PROPOSALS FOR AN UNDERGRADUATE COURSE

Ephraim H. Mizruchi
and
M. Jane Naugle

Recent interest in the areas of health and medicine has been focused on the behavioral aspects of disease and illness. This shift in emphasis to a more comprehensive approach utilizing the findings of social research is an outgrowth of a preoccupation in preceding decades with the biophysical alone with little or no recognition of the relation between sociocultural factors and loss of health.¹ To some it may appear that the biophysical and sociocultural are so far removed that there is hardly a common meeting ground and the benefits of such a relationship would be negligible. The awareness of the need for a more comprehensive outlook in the fields of medicine and public health, has recently been recognized by professionals in these fields but, little has been done to integrate these divergent viewpoints. Obstacles in this area have paralleled resistance to the acceptance of social science findings in our society generally the major impediment being the belief that human behavior is not a proper province for scientific research.² In spite of these obstacles, however, social science research is in progress in the areas of prevention, patient care, and rehabilitation.³ That the social sciences can effectively contribute to the improvement of professional and technical skills in these fields is reflected in the rapid increase in social scientists doing research in the areas of health and medicine during the recent past.⁴ In addition to acknowl-

¹ Cf. J. Ehrenwald, *From Medicine Man to Freud*. New York: Dell Publishing Company, Inc., 1956; although the concern is with psychological factors, one sees the sociological emphasis manifested throughout.

² A discussion of this and other obstacles may be found in a recent college textbook, G. Lundberg, C. Schrag, and O. Larsen, *Sociology*, revised edition. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958.

³ Cf. *Preventative Medicine and Medical Schools*, Association of American Medical Schools, Colorado Springs Conference, November 1952; W. and J. Boek, *Society and Health*, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1956; Leo W. Simmons and Harold G. Wolff, *Social Science In Medicine*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1954; William Caudill, "Applied Anthropology in Medicine," in A. L. Kroeber and others, *Anthropology Today*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1953; R. G. Barker, B. A. Wright, and M. R. Gonick, "Adjustment to Physical Handicap and Illness: A Survey of the Social Psychology of Physique and Disability," in *Social Science Research Council Bulletin* 55, New York.

⁴ *Census of Research*, American Sociological Society, 1955.

edging the great interest in social research, Strauss has discussed the role of the social scientist in teaching courses for nursing and medical personnel.⁵

The present paper proposes an outline of an undergraduate course designed to provide students interested in health and medicine with an elementary background in applicable research and theory in social science and medicine. The outline presented below reflects the benefit of experience derived from offering a course entitled "The Sociology of Health and Medicine" at the State University Teachers College, Cortland, New York, and the observation and critical assessment of a student in the Health Education program at the college.

Though it is assumed that the course will be of considerable benefit to students in the field of health and medicine, the general objectives of the course are strictly sociological. Utilizing sociological principles and concepts the student should then be able to apply the sociological viewpoint to specific situations. Thus the course also has appeal for, and has in fact attracted, students in other academic areas.

SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES

The course is designed to assist the student in the development of the following intellectual skills:

1. The ability to critically evaluate generalizations and to understand the requirements of scientifically based generalizations about human behavior.
2. Advanced understanding of the language of the social sciences.
3. Understanding of concepts which will be directly applicable to problems in the fields of health and medicine.
4. Greater recognition of the forces affecting human behavior in various social settings.

OUTLINE OF THE COURSE

The following outline provides a suggested framework for a one-semester course, the content of which is expected to vary in relation to the specific objectives of the course, the type of student for whom the course is being given, and the theoretical viewpoint of the instructor.

Though a paucity of textbooks is characteristic of this area of study, two general works which provide background for the more specific treatment of the subjects outlined below are suggested. The recent

⁵ Robert Straus, "The Nature and Status of Medical Sociology." *American Sociological Review*, vol. 22, April 1957, pp. 200-204.

work by Leo W. Simmons and Harold G. Wolff, *Social Science In Medicine*,⁶ presents the advanced undergraduate student with an overview of some selected aspects of the field with special emphasis on medicine and the role of stress in disease. The book by Walter and Jean Boek, *Society and Health*,⁷ on the other hand, focuses on health and conforms more to the traditional textbook. It is especially useful for students who have little or no background in sociology or the other social sciences. In the outline below, brief references are made to specific works which represent studies in selected areas. In addition to the general texts cited above, at least two outstanding bibliographical sources are available to the teacher and student, the article by William Caudill, "Applied Anthropology in Medicine,"⁸ contains an extensive list of publications in this field. A more recent bibliography including suggestions regarding specific areas of strength and weakness in the field is Freeman, Reeder, and Novak, "Medical Sociology: A Review of the Literature."⁹ Still another source which will soon be forthcoming is Albert F. Wessen's pamphlet, tentatively entitled "Sociology and Medical Practice," to be published for the American Sociological Society by the Russell Sage Foundation.

I. PRIMITIVE MEDICINE AND THE ROLE OF THE MEDICINE MAN¹⁰

The study of Primitive medicine provides the instructor with an opportunity to discuss the relationship between group phenomena and the social structure on the one hand, and on the other, group behavior and individual participation. Thus the study of the role of ritual allows us a springboard for discussing the concept of function in its individual and societal dimensions. The discussion in Malinowski's essay cited below is central to conceptual analysis in this case. In addition to a more precise analysis of ritual, the role of the medicine man in ritual and the specific techniques utilized by the

⁶ Simmons and Wolff, *op. cit.*

⁷ Boek and Boek, *op. cit.*

⁸ Caudill, *op. cit.*

⁹ Howard E. Freeman, Leo G. Reeder, and Emil Novak, "Medical Sociology: A Review of the Literature," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 22, February 1957, pp. 73-81.

¹⁰ It is extremely important that the student be familiar with the scientific method including the nature of hypotheses, sampling methods, and generalizations. This can be ascertained either through the requirement of an introductory course in sociology in which methodology is stressed, or by the inclusion of a discussion of the scientific method as part of the present course. An excellent source in this area is W. Goode and P. Hatt, *Methods in Social Research*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1952.

latter suggest the interrelationships between specific traits in the social system and culture as a whole.

The references, though limited, provide a manageable number of works with rather comprehensive applicability.

A. The Nature and Function of Ritual in Primitive Societies

B. Surgical, Medical, Psychotherapeutic, and Pharmaceutical Techniques

C. References

1. Bronislaw Malinowski, *Magic, Science and Religion and Other Essays*, edited by R. Redfield. Doubleday Anchor Books, Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1955.
2. Henry E. Sigerist, *A History of Medicine, Vol. I: Primitive and Archaic Medicine*. Oxford University Press, 1951.
3. J. Ehrenwald, *From Medicine Man to Freud*. Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1956.
4. Elizabeth A. Ferguson, "Primitive Medicine," *Scientific American*, vol. 179, no. 3, September 1948, pp. 24-27.
6. William Caudill, "Applied Anthropology in Medicine," in A. L. Kroeber and others, *Anthropology Today*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1953.
6. *The Yellow Emperor's Classic on Internal Medicine*, translated by I. Veith. Williams and Wilkins Co., 1949.
7. Francis L. K. Hsu, *Religion, Science, and Human Crises*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1952.

II. THE HISTORY OF MODERN MEDICINE

Although this field has hardly been ignored by medical historians, very little appears to have been done which is directly applicable to an understanding of the role of science and medicine in complex societies. Howard Haggard's extremely popular study, *Devils, Drugs, and Doctors*, provides us with a comprehensive view of the problems associated with the acceptance of innovations in the health and medical spheres. The writers would suggest, that in a course of this type a great deal of emphasis be placed upon the problems associated with the past and those which parallel them in the acceptance of medical and health innovations today. Sharp contrast to the past is afforded, for example, by the case of the mass poliomyelitis inoculations which have recently been observed.

Materials in this section can also be used in discussion of general problems of societal and cultural change. The role of the mass media of communication and the elaborate apparatus of the national health associations can be viewed as forces effecting the acceptance of innovations today.

Early scientific approaches to medicine are demonstrated in the study of the Greeks and Romans as well as the concern with societal control of the physician as reflected in the Oath of Hippocrates. Medieval medicine, especially the work of the alchemist, allows us a

step by step view of the development of modern scientific methods, and the emphasis on the recent past in general medicine and psychiatry provide us with a framework within which contemporary issues can be discussed.

- A. The Greeks and Romans
- B. Medieval Medicine
- C. Development of Modern Scientific Medicine
- D. Development of Psychiatry
- E. References

1. Richard H. Shryock, *The Development of Modern Medicine*, revised. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1947.
2. Howard Haggard, *Devils, Drugs, and Doctors*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1929.
3. J. Ehrenwald, *From Medicine Man to Freud*. New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1956.
4. Gregory Zilboorg and G. W. Henry, *A History of Medical Psychology*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1941.
5. *The Bulletin of the History of Medicine*.

III. SOCIAL PSYCHIATRY

One of the earliest fields in which sociologists took an interest was the field of social psychiatry. Attention has been focused on ecological factors, the relationship between urbanization and mental illness, the role of family interaction in the etiology of mental illness, social factors, and the structure of the mental hospital.

The following works provide an excellent coverage of the types of research being done in this area. Two general works, one a textbook by Weinberg, *Society and Personality Disorders*, and a book of essays prepared for the Society for the Study of Social Problems and edited by Arnold M. Rose, *Mental Health and Mental Disorder*, contain background not only for a section of a course as it is proposed here, but for a separate course as well. Hollingshead and Redlich's recent work, *Social Class and Mental Illness*, discusses the role of social class factors in mental illness as well as some aspects of interaction in mental hospitals. The results of Goldhamer and Marshall's study, *Psychosis and Civilization*, are consistent with the findings of Ellen Winston who rejects the hypothesis that mental disorders increase with urbanization.

- A. Nature of Disordered Behavior
- B. Societal Factors and Treatment of Mental Illness
- C. Recent Social Trends and Mental Illness
- D. References

1. John A. Clausen, *Sociology and the Field of Mental Health*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1956.

2. S. Kirson Weinberg, *Society and Personality Disorders*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952.
3. Arnold M. Rose, editor, *Mental Health and Mental Disorder*, New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1955.
4. August B. Hollingshead and Frederick C. Redlich, *Social Class and Mental Illness*. New York: Wiley and Sons, 1958.
5. Alfred H. Stanton and Morris S. Schwartz, *The Mental Hospital*. New York: Basic Books, 1954.
6. E. Winston, "The Assumed Increase of Mental Disease," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 40, January, 1935, pp. 427-429.
7. Herbert Goldhamer and Alexander Marshall, *Psychosis and Civilization*. Glencoe: Free Press, 1953.

IV. MEDICINE, SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Research in this area represents the most recent contributions of sociologists to the field of health and medicine. There is a conspicuous absence of any general systematic work presenting the diverse types of studies undertaken. Indeed the paucity of general works in this field has led Freeman, et. al., to make the following statement: "The literature on social organization is too sparse to merit specific comment."¹¹ The following suggested outline is therefore somewhat more uneven than has been the case in the first three sections.

Perhaps the most systematic attempt to analyze social relationships within a medical setting is presented in Parsons' *The Social System*. Another systematic approach, in this case applied to a hospital as a social system, is Stanton and Schwartz' *The Mental Hospital*. An excellent example of the application of organizational theory in the field of health is Sills' *The Volunteers*. The effect of cultural factors upon reaction to illness and orientation towards care is exemplified by Saunders' *Cultural Differences and Medical Care*, and reference has already been made above to Hsu's work on Chinese culture.

Studies of the factors effecting the acceptance of innovation are gathered in two collections of case studies, Spicer's *Human Problems In Technological Change*, and Paul's *Health, Culture, and Community*. Snyder's elaborate analysis of the cultural factors associated with differential rates of alcoholism includes an excellent study of the impact of the American cultural system on a sub-cultural system and the consequent changes in potential pathology.

- A. Social Organization
- B. Social Change

¹¹ Freeman, et al., *op cit.*, p. 77.

C. References

1. Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*. Glencoe: Free Press, 1951
2. A. H. Stanton and M. S. Schwartz, *The Mental Hospital*. New York: Basic Books, 1954.
3. Sills, *The Volunteers*. Glencoe: Free Press, 1958.
4. Saunders, *Cultural Differences and Medical Care*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1954.
5. Spicer, *Human Problems in Technological Change*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1952.
6. B. Paul, *Health, Culture, and Community*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1955.
7. Snyder, *Alcohol and The Jews*. Glencoe: Free Press, 1958.

It is well, in conclusion, to keep in mind the very recent emergence of interest in medicine and health on the part of social scientists. The present paper suggests a broad framework within which the diverse studies in the field can be grouped. It is anticipated that a more systematic treatment of the materials will grow out of the particular instructor's experience with the course and a closing of the gaps in research which presently is characteristic of this specific area of study.

BOOK REVIEWS

Fives at School, Elenora Haegle Moore. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1959, 333 pages.

The primary values of this well documented book are found in its attempts to appraise early childhood education students of the manifold personalities comprising any given kindergarten class and its outlining of how to apply this valuable knowledge. However, all adults concerned with the development of the five year old will find this book a fund of useful information.

The impact of the psychological and sociological environments on the adjustment to school of the five year old is forcefully presented through the skillful use of the verbal portrait and the anecdotal record techniques. The author has cleverly presented similarities and differences of urban and suburban kindergarten, children, parents, teachers and communities.

Dr. Moore has packed the book with techniques, suggestions and approaches to curriculum improvement and innovation for the teaching of the young child.

The book is organized into three sections. Part I covers the general objectives and common cultural factors influencing five year olds. Part II covers The Fives in downtown areas, while Part III covers The Fives in suburbia.

Because of the author's fine documentation and skillful use of research findings, teachers of kindergarten can make appropriate use of the book to reenforce modern approaches to kindergarten teaching.

This book should find its way to the library shelves of all elementary schools where kindergartens are conducted and into the hands of teachers and prospective teachers of five year olds.

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Higher Education for Business, Gordon, Robert Aaron and Howell, James Edwin, New York: Columbia University Press, Pp. xi, 491.

A critical appraisal of the objectives, methods, content and efficiency of higher education for business is particularly welcome in this period of reappraisals of educational systems. This three year study of collegiate business education was undertaken by Professors Gordon

and Howell at the behest of the Ford Foundation. As one of the newer areas of higher education the pitfalls in business education are numerous and growing pains are still evident. Although faculties in departments of business and schools of business may feel that many of the authors' criticisms are too severe, and that each institution has particular circumstances to offer as a defense against the general weaknesses of business education cited, the volume sets forth benchmarks which are necessary and attainable.

In spite of the great expansion in business education, it is barely keeping pace with the growth of higher education in general. Bachelor's degrees in business as a percentage of degrees in all fields reached a peak of 16.8 per cent in 1948-49, and dropped to 13.7 per cent in 1957-58. It is expected to maintain this ratio for some time to come.

The authors state "It should be the primary objective of collegiate business education to prepare students for personally fruitful and socially useful careers in business, and related types of activity." How well business education is accomplishing this aim is the question at hand. Among the areas of weakness the authors see an overemphasis on primarily vocational subjects and insufficient attention given to the preprofessional aspects of that education. They recommend that not less than half of the four-year undergraduate program be devoted to general or liberal arts courses, and more, if feasible. The business curriculum should consist primarily of a large core of required courses that will provide an introduction to each of the main aspects of the structure and functioning of business. This core would embrace managerial accounting and statistics; advanced economics, including both internal "economic management" and the external environment of the firm; organization and administration; courses in the functional fields (marketing, finance, etc.) and the legal, political and social environment of business, capped by a course in business policy. The authors are critical of the tendency toward proliferation of courses in professional subjects, which, incidentally, is also found in liberal arts. They strongly encourage the behavioral sciences as a need for every person seeking a responsible position in modern business enterprise.

Three areas of needed improvement stand out strikingly. These are improving the quality of students, better teaching, and research in the business schools. The authors, citing the Commission on Human Resources, show that a substantially greater proportion of business graduates fall in the first quintile (poorest students) than do engineer-

ing graduates or all college graduates. By various tests mentioned business students as a group appear clearly below average. The only answer proffered seems to be that business students are drawn more largely from families of the lower socio-economic class. A more potent reason to the reviewer is that high school teachers are almost universally drawn from liberal arts schools or schools of education, and, directly or indirectly, tend to steer their brightest students toward a broad, liberal, nonspecialized college education. Obviously, business enterprise needs men and women of the highest mental qualifications, and having to go beyond the business school for some of the best material, has had to do the professional training in a nonacademic environment.

Doubt is cast on the effectiveness of business school teaching which rests too heavily upon the description of existing institutions, procedures, and practices. The authors see as a primary need greater emphasis on the analytical and managerial-clinical aspects of the various business fields. Failure to develop powers of communication through the wide use of objective-type examinations, relative lack of oral reports, and neglect of library facilities are stressed. Criticism of research in business schools is directed toward the all too prevalent tendency to describe current practice and normative rules, quite lacking in challenging hypotheses, uses of good research techniques and evidence drawn from the relevant underlying disciplines. In fact, the authors see the understanding of interactions between business and its nonmarket environment coming chiefly from economists, historians, political scientists, and students of law. Fortunately, the larger business schools do have many such scholars on their faculties.

Harsh as this study may seem, and regardless of our personal biases in business education, it is undeniable that this work is timely and affords a useful check on what is happening in the preparation of young men and women for future business careers.

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Industry, Labor, and Community, by William H. Form and Delbert C. Miller, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960, Pp 739 - xi.

For some time there has been increased interest in the relationships between industry, labor and the community. Industry has shown some interest in its corporate citizenship in the community where it is located. Labor, at the same time is showing a growing awareness

of the need to actively participate in communal affairs. The injection of these two power blocs into the community, as identifiable units, creates new sets of relationships within the institutional structure. Since Floyd Hunter's study entitled *Community Power: Structure*, agency leadership has become increasingly aware of this role of power in local affairs.

Form and Miller's book is an excellent presentation of this newly conceived complex of power patterns. The four sections of the book provide perspectives for analyzing such relations, the inter institutional relations of business and labor in the community, a section on the power structure, and a section dealing with applied problems.

Space does not allow for a full treatment of the study. The section which interested this reviewer most was that devoted to power structure. He found useful the typologies presented, and the schematic designations of power. The thing which he missed most, however, was any realistic consideration of how power constellations are altered. That there is a monolithic power pattern in the average community, all students are aware. Descriptive studies of it afford insights with which to work. However, students of social life see constantly the alteration of these power patterns in local communities. The sit-in strikes in food serving establishments in the South, the restructuring of intergroup relations in the North through legislation, and the group dynamic processes of involvement and participation, all suggest methods through which personal and corporate power becomes socialized when it is abused and used to arbitrary and capricious ends.

Another omission which the reviewer noted is any treatment of the type of approach resorted to by the Industrial Areas Foundation of Chicago. Here, for more than twenty years, and altogether in some fifty communities, this organization has experimented with organizing industrial populations to match political, industrial and union power with power. He would also have found useful a treatment of the role of power as it relates to minority groups dealing with power problems in the community.

These omissions, some of which are obviously outside the scope of the book, should not detract from its acceptance. It adds many new dimensions to our concept of the modern power relations.

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